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TO THE PRINCE REGENT, ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

SIR,—During the years 1811 and 1812, while I was imprisoned in a felon's jail, for having written and caused to be printed and published an article on the subject of *Loggins of English Local Militiamen*, at the town of Ely, in England, and about the attendance of German troops at the ceremony; while I was expiating this offence by two years imprisonment in a felon's jail, and by paying, at the close of the period, a *Thousand Pounds Fine* to you, acting in the name and behalf of your Father, who, during my imprisonment, became afflicted with his present malady; during this long period of seclusion from my home and from the wholesome air, I addressed to you several *Letters on the dispute with America*, in which Letters I endeavoured to convince you, that the dispute, if it terminated in war, might lead to very fatal consequences to this country. I, in these Letters, stated clearly the grounds of the dispute; I traced the causes of our ill blood with America to their origin; I pointed out how the dispute might be put an end to without a war; I endeavoured to shew you the probable fatal consequences of a war with that nation of free men, taking up arms *voluntarily*; and upon conviction of the goodness of their cause, I spent whole days and nights in endeavours to warn you against believing the reports of the venal wretches, who were labouring to persuade this nation, that we had only to go to war with Mr. MADISON in order to effect a *breaking up of the American Union*; and I was the more anxious on this point, as it was the general opinion, that, unless the States could be induced to *divide*, we never should long be able to cope with them in a war within their territory.

As the vanity, naturally belonging to an author, makes me conclude that you read these Letters with great attention, I will not here go into any detail on their contents. But if we now look at the state

of the war in the gross, without any particular feature being taken into view, does it not appear, that we should have been fortunate, if my advice had been followed? We should never then have heard of the affairs of the Java, the *Guiriere*, the *Macedonia*, the *Avon*, and many others; nor should we have ever heard of the battles of Lake Ontario and Lake Champlain.

For the present I will confine myself to this last-mentioned battle, which has excited great attention all over Europe, and has called forth, on the victors, the most unqualified expressions of praise and admiration from our neighbours, the French, where, be it observed, nothing is published but with the consent of the Government.

This is a *naval* affair. An affair *purely naval*. There appears to have been no *accidental* circumstance to affect it. The force on each side was as nearly equal as need be, in order to come at a *proof of the relative merits of the two fleets*. The battle, therefore, will be considered of ten thousand times more importance in this light than in the light of its effects upon the campaign in Canada. But before I proceed to the *consequences* of this battle, I think it best to say a word or two upon the subject of the *place* where the battle was fought. Lake Champlain is partly in your Father's Provinces of Canada, and partly in the territory of the Republic of America. It is, perhaps, 150 miles long, and from half a mile to 10 or 15 miles wide. I do not know that I can much better describe it than by comparing it to the SERPENTINE RIVER, in Hyde Park, which is fed out of the Lakes in Kensington Gardens. The boundary line across Lake Champlain is very neatly and aptly represented by the embankment and bridge, which separate the upper from the lower part of the Serpentine River, and the ponds and ditches, leading from that separation down through Chelsea to the Thames, very luckily come to represent the British part of Lake Champlain, which empties its overflowings into the St. Lawrence, between Montreal and Quebec, and which is the only highway from the Re-

publican territory to those two chief seats of the power of the house of Brunswick in that country.

Whether it was this strong resemblance, in the shape of Lake Champlain and that of the Serpentine River, which led, some few months ago, to the ingenious device of exhibiting hostile fleets in miniature on the latter, I have not been informed; but, there are few persons, in this country, I believe, who do not sorely grieve to think, that, in the battles upon these two waters, the representation should have differed so widely from that reality, the accounts of which have recently come to hand. The battle on the Serpentine River, though contested, for some time, pretty stoutly by the Yankees, was, at last, decided in our favour. Britannia, I am told, (for I saw it not) with the trident of Neptune in her hand, was seen crowning her sons with bay, while poor JONATHAN, with his lank hair hanging over his drooping head, stood a captive under his own flag, which was *hanging reversed* under that of your Royal House; thereby indicating, not only a naval superiority over the Yankees, but anticipating, that, whenever they should dare to meet us, they would be beaten and captured. There was not, I believe, an opportunity of exhibiting this scene to the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, who were thus deprived of a sight of those signs of extatic delight, which the people expressed, and of a hearing of their heart-cheering shouts, when they saw poor JONATHAN haul down his colours, and when they heard the martial bands strike up "*Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the Waves!*" in the chorus of which they joined with their half a million of male and female voices, till the sound seemed to fill all the space between the earth and the sky. The Foreign Sovereigns were, for want of time, deprived of this sight. But, in the harbour of Portsmouth, on the day of your arrival there, in company with them, I myself saw, on board of some ships, the flag of poor JONATHAN again reversed, and hanging under that of your Royal House.

Alas, Sir! how different has been the reality from the anticipating representation! upon Lake Champlain, that Serpentine River on a grand scale, how different has been the event from that of the representation, which drew forth the air-rending cry of a million of the people of this country. Are, of half a million of a people,

on whom it is no more than a just eulogium to say, that they are, in every respect, worthy of being the subjects of the King that reigns over them, and of the Regent, who acts in the name and behalf of that King! There are some few exceptions, to be sure; some few malcontents; some few, whom neither King nor God can please. But, speaking of them in a mass, your Father's people are worthy of such a Sovereign, and such a Sovereign is worthy of such a people.

To return to the battle of Lake Champlain, I have deeply to lament, that **WE HAVE NOT HAD ANY OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS PUBLISHED RESPECTING IT**, and yet it is now the 7th of November. It is not for me to presume to know, or even to guess, why no such account has been published. So far am I from attempting to *find fault*, upon this occasion, with the men in power, that I am not even disposed to inquire into their motives for not publishing the account in question. I am quite willing to allow, that they are the best possible judges of what they are about; that they know best when to publish and when to be silent. But I may, and I must lament their not publishing; because, in the meanwhile, the *Republican* account is gone forth to the world, and which account is calculated to make a most injurious impression upon the world, particularly with regard to the relative value of the naval characters of the Republic of America, and of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. If the Republican account be true, the event was, in this view of it, the most fatal that can be imagined; for, not only were your Royal Father's ships *superior* in both *men and guns*; not only was his Majesty's fleet *beaten* by the Republicans under such circumstances; but it was *taken*, all taken, and that, too, *without any very great slaughter!* The Republican account is as follows; and, as you will perceive, it is published from that very city of Washington, the public edifices of which your Royal Father's fleet and army so recently burnt to the ground.

"WASHINGTON, SEPT. 19.

Copy of a Letter from Commodore M'Donough to the Secretary of the Navy, dated United States ship *Saratoga*, off Plattsburg, Sept. 11.

"SIR—The Almighty has been pleased to grant us a signal victory on Lake Champlain, in the capture of one frigate, one brig, and two sloops of war of the enemy. I have the honour to be, very respect-



fully, Sir, your obedient servant,—
(Signed) T. MACDONOUGH, Com.
Hon. W. Jones, Secretary of the Navy.
“The whole of our force on the Lake,
“independent of the captured British
“ships, is

	GUNS.
“Ship Saratoga, Commodore Macdonough	26
“Brig Surprise, Master and Commandant	
“Hienley	20
“Schooner Ticonderoga, do. Cassin	20
“Sloop Preble, Lieutenant Budd	7
“Do. Montgomery, Sailing Master Lumus	7
“Do. President, Master's Mate Freebom	10
“Six new Row Gallies; the Santepead,	
“Viper, Nettle, Borer, Burrows, and	
“Allen, each mounting a 24 and a short	12
“18-pounder	
“Row Gallies, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, the two	
“former mounting each a long 9, and the	
“two latter each a long 12-pounder	4
Total....	106

BRITISH.			
Guns.	Men.	Killed.	Wounded.
“Large Ship....	39	300	50
“Brig	16	120	20
“Growler.....	11	40	6
“Eagle	11	40	8
“11 Gun-boats..	15	550	2 probably sunk
Total....	93	1050	84

“Several of the gun-boats struck; but the
“sinking state of the large vessels required the
“assistance of the men in our gallies, so that
“not being able to take possession of them,
“they were able to save themselves by flight.

AMERICAN.			
Guns.	Men.	Killed.	Wounded.
“Saratoga ship....	26	210	26
“Eagle brig.....	20	120	13
“Ticonderoga, sch.	17	110	6
“Preble, sloop.....	7	30	1
“10 Gun-boats....	11	350	3
Total....	86	820	49

Thus, Sir, if this account be true, (for I
do only speak hypothetically) the royal
fleet had more guns and more men than
the Republican fleet, and yet the royal
fleet was not only beaten but all CAP-
TURED! This American Commodore is
very laconic. He does not seem to have
regarded such an event as worthy of any
very particular detail. He does not seem
to have observed any particular instance of
courage or skill in his officers and men.
In short, he seems to have thought, that
what had happened was no more than what
his country would expect, notwithstanding
all that the people of England had seen on
the Serpentine River. He talks of no
difficulties; no dangers; no resistance;
and, if the account be true, he took the
whole fleet before he had killed and wound-
ed a fifth part of its men, and before he
had lost, in killed and wounded, only about
an eighth part of his own men. Mr.
Madison, in his account, if it may be so
called, of the battle, is still more provoking-

ly laconic and reserved. He says: “The
“British squadron lately came into action
“with the American on Lake Champlain:
“it issued in the capture of the whole of
“the enemy's ships. The best praise of
“Captain Macdonough, and his intrepid
“comrades, is the likeness of his triumph to
“the illustrious victory which immorta-
“lized another officer on another Lake.”
Thus hinting to the world, that such events
as this are nothing new. Mr. Madison,
it was anticipated by the sages, who write
in the Times newspaper, would talk very
big about this victory, and thereby blind
the people with regard to their dangers.
He seems to have been determined to make
them false prophets. He does but just
notice this victory in a transient sort of
way, and dwells with great force and with
studious care on the dangers which the
people of the Republic have to meet.

Now, Sir, this Republican account is
either true or false. I do not pretend to
say that it is true, though it has not been
officially contradicted in any one particu-
lar, and though my brother journalists
seem, by implication, at least, to admit the
truth of it. I have not, I do not, and I
will not say, that it is true, even should
every other man in the kingdom say it.
But, I humbly presume, that I may venture
to assert, that it is either true or false. If
looked on as true, it certainly must pro-
duce, and must already have produced, a
very great effect on the minds of thinking
men in all those parts of the world, to which
a knowledge of it has extended. It will
produce this effect: it will cause it to be
believed, that a ship of the royal navy of
Great Britain is not equal to the task of
combating a ship of equal force belonging
to the Republic of America, commanded by
officers and manned by men of that Re-
public. It is impossible for any man, not
a fool, or not blinded by some sort of pas-
sion, to be ignorant, that such must be the
effect of this battle, if the Republican ac-
count of it pass for true. It is equally im-
possible for any man to hope, that it will
not pass for true, until it be explicitly and
officially stated to be false, and until it be
also proved to be false. The world will
naturally ask how it has happened, that the
British Government, who are so exact in
publishing every account of our naval ope-
rations, who do not omit the capture of a
merchant ship, whereof a history is sent to
John Wilson Croker, Esq. should have
been so backward upon this particular oc-

casian; that the people, who witnessed the anticipating representations on the Serpentine River, and who are so eager for news from America, should not yet have been officially informed of the battle of Lake Champlain, though a mention of it has reached Europe, and even England, in the President's Speech. The world will naturally ask *how* this has happened. The world, Sir, looks very anxiously towards the Republic. They see in her a power rising fast to a rivalry with us. They look towards her with rather more than the eyes of impartiality. Our navy has excited great jealousy and envy in the world. That navy the world wishes to see matched, or, at least, held in check. This is not at all wonderful; but, for my part, I shall not state what I look upon as the true causes of it.—As a proof of the sentiments prevalent upon this subject in France, I here quote an article from a French paper of the 30th of September.—“ON THE SITUATION OF THE UNITED STATES.—The capture of Washington has made a great deal of noise in Europe. It was generally believed, on the credit of the London newspapers, that that event would have a decisive influence on the war which rages between Great Britain and the United States. Already people were expecting to see the American Government humbly soliciting peace, and submitting to all the conditions which it might please the Cabinet of St. James's to impose upon it. Some persons, who judge of the United States from the old nations of Europe, confidently announced the dissolution of the American Republic, and did not conceive what could exist after the every way reprehensible destruction of the Capitol and other public buildings of Washington. It seemed to them that that rising city was the Palladium of America, and that its fall must draw along with it that of all the States which compose this great and fine Confederation. Profound alarm, it was said, had seized all the inhabitants of the United States; every province was hastening to deprecate British vengeance, by detaching itself from the Federal Union. Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, Charleston, Savannah, were on the point of opening their gates to the conqueror, and re-entering the colonial system of England. The better informed, however, were far from participating in this opinion. They knew

that the great majority of the Americans were attached to their Government, and would deem no effort too painful to support their independence.—There is much talk of the parties which exist in the United States; but these parties are not factious: they never fail to unite when the country is in danger. In America, as in England, men dispute about the acquisition of power; but their patriotism is never shaken. Their very discussions nourish public spirit, and elevate national pride and the sacred love of liberty above every other sentiment.—The strength of the United States is not in the maritime towns; it lies in that numerous population who cultivate the ground, and seek subsistence in the midst of forests. These hardy cultivators, these indefatigable hunters, form excellent troops, easily disciplined, and who brave every fatigue and danger. They are the sons of the men who triumphed at Saratoga and Bunker's-hill. The recollection of these exploits still animates their courage. This inheritance of glory is a national property which they will transmit entire to their descendants.—These hunters, known by the name of Riflemen, are formidable enemies. They use muskets of a particular kind, and at the distance of 200 paces they seldom miss their aim. In the war of independence they did a great deal of mischief to the English armies, and deprived them of a prodigious number of officers.—It appears certain that the expedition to the Chesapeake, under Admiral Cochrane, had for its object to force the American Government to recall the troops which menace the frontiers of Upper and Lower Canada. This diversion would have been advantageous to the English, but it did not succeed. While the efforts of the British army expired before Baltimore, the Americans were destroying the English fleet on Lake Champlain, and beating the army of Canada, which retired with considerable loss in men and stores.—On this occasion we have heard mention, for the first time, of those famous militia of the State of Vermont, who so gloriously distinguished themselves in the last war, under the name of *Green Mountain Boys*. They have lost neither their courage nor their renown.—The defeat of the English on Lake Champlain exposes the frontiers of Lower Canada. If from Plattsburg the Americans pro-

"ced to St. John's, a little town badly for-
 "tified at the head of the Lake, they can
 "arrive in two marches on the banks of the
 "river St. Lawrence, opposite Montreal,
 "and make themselves masters of the
 "beautiful plain of Chamblé, the most
 "abundant of all Canada in pasturage and
 "grain.—It is not on the coasts that the
 "issue of the war will be decided, but in the
 "interior of the country, and on the
 "banks of Lakes Champlain and On-
 "tario.—The English are good sol-
 "diers; they possess both honour and cou-
 "rage; but the war they have undertaken
 "against the United States does not de-
 "pend either on a maritime expedition, or
 "on a battle gained. Obligated to fight at
 "a great distance from their country,
 "they repair with difficulty their losses,
 "either in men or ammunition, whilst the
 "Americans easily recruit themselves.—
 "The expences of England are enormous,
 "as we may judge from the price of a
 "single piece of cannon transported to
 "Lake Ontario. It is estimated to have
 "cost a thousand guineas. The British
 "Ministry thought, no doubt, that, in
 "taking advantage of their maritime su-
 "periority to insult the shores of the Uni-
 "ted States, and to menace the commer-
 "cial towns with complete destruction,
 "they would have produced in that coun-
 "try a powerful opposition, which would
 "compel the American Government to
 "sue for peace. This expectation must
 "be disappointed: it shews how little
 "America is known in Europe. The
 "actual Government does not want the
 "support of what is called *the commercial*
 "*interest*; it derives all its force from the
 "frank and generous adhesion of the far-
 "mers, who are the most enlightened men
 "in the United States, and the most at-
 "tached to their country.—Besides, the
 "burning of Washington, instead of aba-
 "tising their courage, has only tended to
 "irritate them against an enemy who
 "tramples on the principles adopted by ci-
 "vilised nations. Mr. Madison, who en-
 "joys the highest honour that can be de-
 "sired—that of presiding over the destiny
 "of a free people; Mr. Madison, I say,
 "displays a noble character. All the Ame-
 "ricans rally at his voice; and resolutions,
 "full of energy and patriotism, have al-
 "ready been adopted, in the greater part
 "of the towns which are most exposed to
 "bombardment and to *Congreve's rockets*.
 "The war has become national; and the

"Americans, who have fought courageously,
 "will henceforth fight with fury.—
 "It is not very difficult to foresee the issue
 "of this sanguinary contest, too long main-
 "tained for the honour of humanity. After
 "wasting herself in vain efforts, *England*
 "*will be forced to grant peace on condi-*
 "*tions advantageous to the United States,*
 "and ought to think herself too happy in
 "preserving her empire over Nova Scotia
 "and the two Canadas. I expect that
 "these reflections, intended to enlighten
 "the numerous readers of the *Journal de*
 "*Paris*, upon a war more important than
 "is generally supposed, will excite the
 "indignation of the English Journalists.
 "Those gentlemen attribute to themselves
 "the exclusive privilege of reasoning upon
 "events, and they are indiscreet enough
 "to consider the Americans as rebels; but
 "this consideration will never prevent me
 "from speaking the truth, and making
 "known freely an opinion which I believe
 "to be just. Nobody esteems the English
 "nation more than I do; but I confess I
 "should be much vexed, if she obtained
 "decisive advantages over the United
 "States. She needs neither an increase
 "of influence, nor an accession of terri-
 "tory. Her interest imperiously com-
 "mands her to respect the rights and inde-
 "pendence of other people, and no longer
 "to weary fortune."—This, Sir, is the
 "language of the French; these are *their*
 "sentiments upon this war against the
 "American Republic. She has a friend
 "in every *people* in Europe, the people of
 "this country excepted. The world wishes
 "success to the American Republic, because
 "the world envies England her power. The
 "result of the battle of Lake Champlain
 "has, perhaps, caused more real rejoicing
 "than ever was caused by any battle in Eu-
 "rope, during the last twenty years.

In your *Speech* of the 8th instant, an
 account of which I have now before me,
 the newspapers report you to have said,
 that, "Notwithstanding the *reverse* which
 "APPEARS to have OCCURRED on
 "Lake Champlain, you entertain the *most*
 "*confident expectations*, as well from the
 "amount as from the description of the
 "force now serving in Canada, that the
 "*ascendancy* of his Majesty's arms through-
 "out that part of North America, will be
 "effectually secured." From this it would
 seem, that the "*reverse*" on Lake Cham-
 plain is not yet ascertained by your Cabi-
 net; that it only *appears* that there has

been a "*reverse*." A *reverse* I have always understood to mean, a check *after a series of victories*. Whether this be the character of the "*occurrence*" in question I must leave for abler judges to decide. But I am quite rejoiced to hear, that you entertain such "*confident expectations*" of seeing the "*ascendancy*" of his Majesty's arms "*secured*" in Canada; because I felt, with many others, some fear upon this score, when I found, that an army of fourteen or fifteen thousand men, under the Commander-in-Chief in person, had retreated, in haste, and with great loss, from before a fortress, containing five or six thousand Americans. The Republican Commander asserts, that he captured a considerable part of our army, having, by his *militia* and *volunteers*, pursued it a considerable distance on its retreat. Unless this account be false, there appears to me still to be some little room for fear, that the ascendancy of his Majesty's arms, in that quarter, will not be maintained. You say, as the newspapers tell us, that you build your confident expectations on the *amount* as well as the *description* of the force now serving in Canada. But this force is exactly the same that appeared before the fort at Plattsburg. It is not changed since that time; nor has there been any change in the force of the enemy. So that, to me, it does not, I must confess, appear at all likely, that the prospect in Canada should brighten before another campaign has made some very material change in our favour. It is said, that Sir George Prevost is *recalled*. If that could give us an advantage over the Yankees; if that could defeat their triumphant fleets, the measure would be of great value.

The newspapers state, that you spoke of "*the brilliant and successful operations*" in the Chesapeake and at the City of "*Washington*." Having lately had the misfortune to see a couple of my barns on fire, I can the better conceive the brilliancy of the scene at Washington. But, Sir, while this scene was exhibited there, unfortunately the Republicans were sallying from Fort Erie on the army of General Drummond, and the fatal battle was preparing on Lake Champlain. What are the operations in the Chesapeake, when we look towards Canada? If, indeed, we had been able to REMAIN at Washington, the case would have been different. So far from that, our Commander stated, that he hastened away, leaving several of his

wounded officers behind him, because he feared that the militia might collect, and cut off his retreat to the ships. Incursions like this are not much thought of in the world, when men are talking of the probable *result* of a war. It is true, that the *character* of our movements in the Chesapeake "*has produced on the minds of the inhabitants a deep and sensible impression*." But if I am to judge from the Message of Mr. Madison, that impression is one of the most resolute hostility towards England; and, from every thing that I hear from that country, I am convinced, that a disposition to yield to us, in any one point, was never so far from the breasts of the Republicans as since our operations in the Chesapeake. However, we shall not now be *many days* before we KNOW for a certainty what the American *people* say, and what they think upon the subject of the war. For the Congress will go into Committees on the matters mentioned in the President's Message. Those Committees will make Reports, expressive of their opinions. These Reports will be discussed in the Senate and the House of Representatives. When agreed to they will be published. When published they will express the sentiments of the unbought, unsold Representatives of a whole people, those Representatives being chosen by the free voices of all the men in the country, who pay taxes to the amount of only a penny in a year.—There can be no room for *doubt* in such a case. No one can pretend to say, that the Congress does not speak the voice of the people. It *must* speak the people's voice. It is elected for a very short space of time. The people have the power to turn out any Member in a few months after he displeases them. All the people read. They all look narrowly to the conduct of those whom they have sent to the Congress. And, therefore, whatever the Congress says, we may be well assured the people themselves say. I dwell with more earnestness upon this point, because our venal prints have long been labouring to persuade us, that the American *people* are opposed to their *Government*, and because you are reported to have talked of the war begun against us by "*the Government*" of America. The *Government*, in that country, does not mean any man, or set of men, who *rule over a people*, who *command a people*, to whom the people *owe allegiance*. The people of America acknowledge the exist-

ence of no such a power, of no such a thing. They look upon the Government as consisting of *their agents*; persons appointed and paid by them for conducting their public affairs. They look upon these persons as no more than their *fellow citizens*. The most learned and most wise of their fellow citizens, to be sure, but, still, their fellow citizens. The persons so employed have not the power to do that which the people disapprove of; nor can they have the inclination, seeing that they have *no interest* to do that which the people dislike. There is none of them who can have any *private interest* in war; none of them can gain by war. It is impossible to fatten their families by the means of a public expenditure; and, as to *patronage*, they know of no such thing, nor could they derive any advantage from it, if they had it. Therefore, whatever the Congress says, you may be sure the people say, in spite of all the malicious and silly assertions of our public prints, whose efforts are continually directed to mislead the people of this country, whose want of information renders them the easy dupes of these designing knaves, having a corrupt press in their hands.

It is stated, in the newspapers, that you, in your Speech, said that this war originated in the "MOST UNPROVOKED AGGRESSION on the part of the Government of the United States." It is to be lamented, that you did not take this opportunity of contradicting, in a pointed manner, the assertion contained in Mr. Madison's late Message; because he, most explicitly asserts, that *we were the aggressors*. He says:—"Having forborne to declare war until to other aggressions had been added the capture of nearly one thousand American vessels, and the impressment of thousands of sea-faring citizens, and until a final declaration had been made by the Government of Great Britain, that her hostile orders against our commerce would not be revoked, but on conditions as impossible as unjust, whilst it was known that these orders would not otherwise cease but with a war, which had lasted nearly twenty years, and which, according to appearance at that time, might last as many more—having manifested on every occasion and in every proper mode, a sincere desire to meet the enemy on the ground of justice, our resolution to defend our beloved country, and to oppose to the enemy's persevering hostility all

our energy, with an undiminished disposition towards peace and friendship on honourable terms, must carry with it the good wishes of the impartial world, and the best hopes of support from an omnipotent and kind Providence."—Now, Sir, what I could have wished to see was a contradiction of this assertion with regard to these *thousand vessels* and these *thousands of impressed American citizens*. You may be well assured, that this Message will be read with deep and general interest on the Continent of Europe. This Message and your Speech are before the world. Not before this nation only, but before all the nations in the world. Every man will form his own judgment upon them. It is not reasonable to suppose that Mr. Madison's assertion will be disbelieved, unless it be proved to be false. It may do here for our public prints to call him, as they do, "*liar, fool, traitor, usurper, coward*," and the like. This may satisfy those who inhabit the country through which runs the Serpentine River; but it will have no weight, or, at least, no weight against Mr. Madison, in other countries. His assertion, therefore, relative to the *thousand vessels* and the *thousands of impressed sea-faring citizens* I could wish very much to see contradicted and disproved in some official and authentic way; for, until that be done, I am afraid, that we may lay our account with his being believed by a great majority of the world. And, if he be believed; if the world do believe, that we really did capture a thousand Republican vessels; that we really did impress thousands of sea-faring citizens before the Congress declared war, I am afraid that it must be doubted whether the declaration of war was wholly an *unprovoked* aggression on the part of America. I am aware, that there will be no doubt upon the subject in this country, which never was engaged in any war so popular as this. I believe, that, if the whole nation, paupers and all, were put to the vote, that there would appear for the war nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand. The press worked up the people to the war pitch, where it keeps them. There are prevalent these notions:—1st, that the Republic joined Napoleon in the war against us; 2d, that we are now able to punish her for this; 3d, that she went to war for the purpose of robbing us of maritime rights essential to our very existence; 4th, that she may now, now, now! be crippled for

ever; 5th, that we ought, at least, to continue the war, 'till we have *effaced*, by victories over the Republican ships, the recollection of the affairs of the Java, the Guerriere, the Macedonia, the Avon, and of those on the Lakes. Then the events in the Chesapeake, and the description of them, have caused the nation to look upon the Republicans as cowards. This is very inconsistent with the before-mentioned notion; but it prevails. So, that, here are all sorts of ingredients necessary to make a war popular, and popular it is beyond every thing that ever was popular. It is quite useless for any one to attempt to remove any of these notions, which have taken fast hold, and which it will require some years of war to shake. *Jonathan*, therefore, has no ground for reliance on any *opposition* in this country. The opposition in Parliament will only be as to the *mode* of prosecuting the war. If they censure, the burden of their censure will be, not against the war, but against those who have *not done enough* against the enemy. The war, therefore, has popularity to recommend it. This I allow, and, in so doing, I have the mortification to confess, that all my labours against the war have proved wholly useless. Still I think myself bound to endeavour, as occasion may offer, to give my reason against its further continuance.

I was happy to see, in the newspaper report of your Speech, that you have "*a sincere desire to bring this war to a conclusion on just and honourable terms*;" and as Mr. Madison expresses the same desire, let me hope, that the conclusion of the war may soon take place, without waiting till more sea battles have effaced the recollection of those which have already taken place. But, Sir, what a pity it is that the war did not end with the war in Europe. What a pity it is that Mr. Madison has to complain of *delays* on our part to give effect to our own proposition for a direct negotiation, after we had refused the offer of the mediation of our own ally the Emperor of Russia! And what a pity it is, that the American people have, in our public prints, seen so much abuse of their Chief Magistrate, and so many threats to *reconquer* their country!

Since writing the above, the *debates* on your Speech have reached me. With the exception of Mr. Whitbread and Sir Gilbert Heathcote, all agreed, that America was the *aggressor* in the war; and, as was anticipated, the only fault imputed to the

Minister was, that they had been *remiss* in their measures against her; though, on the other hand, it is reported of one member who moved the Address, that he said, that "*our successes* against her had been UNVARIED." The First Lord of the Admiralty stated, that he had not received the official account of the affair of *Lake Champlain*, which, besides, appeared, from the language of the two Houses, to be considered as but a *trifling* sort of a thing, unworthy of any very particular notice. The speech of Mr. Whitbread was long, and, therefore, cannot be inserted here; but that of Sir Gilbert Heathcote shall have a place in this letter; and, as you cannot suspect him of any disloyal motive, I hope you will give his words a patient attention.

"Sir GILBERT HEATHCOTE rose and observed, that it would have been most satisfactory to have heard from Ministers that the negotiations at Ghent were going on favourably. That he could not approve of that part of the Address which promised further support in the American war, inasmuch as *the cause of the dispute had ceased since the general pacification on the Continent*. When we withdrew our Orders in Council the Americans had rescinded their Retaliative Acts; so that the right of searching American ships for British seamen alone, remained as a subject of controversy. When peace was established throughout Europe we could not think of exercising that right; so that this last point of contention *fell to the ground naturally*. The war must, therefore, be carried on for *other reasons*, for the sake of *what might happen*, and not for any present grievance. He thought the situation of the country did not warrant Ministers in doing this. Were our finances so flourishing, the property tax a burthen so light and easy, that it mattered not what might be the amount of the annual national expenditure. There might be some pretext for Ministers to keep on some of the late war taxes, after the country was placed on a peace establishment, provided there was an excess of expenditure, to make up any deficiency in balancing the accounts; but no pretext whatever for retaining such imposts for the prosecution of a war which appeared unnecessary. It appeared to him that we feared the rising power of America, and wished to curtail it. This

“was an important feature in this war, for
 “if persevered in we must be prepared to
 “*completely subjugate our enemy*, or we
 “should be in a *worse state than we now*
 “*were*. We had tried to subdue America
 “thirty years ago, and had failed, when
 “she was nothing like so powerful as at
 “present. We should recollect how we
 “left France situated, whilst we were en-
 “gaged in this contest; she was at pro-
 “found peace, recovering from her wounds,
 “and if the war was protracted, or unpros-
 “perous, *she might join America or attack*
 “*us herself*. A strange policy seemed to
 “be pursued, whilst we were waging war
 “in America to prevent her becoming a
 “powerful naval State, close at home, in
 “Flanders, we were creating one. Let
 “us recall to mind the history of the reign
 “of Charles the Second, or, in latter times,
 “the politics of the Dutch Cabinet, pre-
 “vious to the engagement off the Dogger
 “Bank in 1781, and the march of the
 “Prussian Army under the late Duke of
 “Brunswick into Holland in 1787. Would
 “any one, having a knowledge of these
 “transactions, believe that our Ministers
 “would, in all times to come, be able so to
 “manage the Dutch Cabinet, so to eradi-
 “cate all French influence there, as that
 “power we are now creating may not, at
 “no very distant time, become highly dan-
 “gerous to the naval supremacy of this
 “country. With respect to the conduct
 “of the war, he did not wish now to enter
 “into it, he was *against the war alto-*
 “*gether*.—In these contests we must ex-
 “pect the alternate vicissitudes of fortune.
 “He had always understood that Sir
 “George Prevost was both a brave and
 “intelligent man, and, no doubt, he had
 “good reasons for what he had done.
 “That in a country like America, after
 “having lost the naval support, on which
 “depended the provisioning the army, and
 “conveyance of military stores, with the
 “remembrance of Saratoga and York
 “Town, he must have been a bold man
 “indeed who would have placed himself,
 “by advancing into the country, in a *si-*
 “*tuation to be surrounded*. What has
 “been said in the public prints of the *mor-*
 “*tification felt by the troops which had*
 “*been sent from Spain*, he believed, if more
 “confidence was placed in *their exertions*
 “than on those of the rest of the army, we
 “should be disappointed. In the outset of
 “the last American war, it was boasted
 “here, that a battalion of British troops

“would march across that continent. The
 “flower of our army was sent, and com-
 “manded by Officers who had served with
 “reputation in the German war under
 “Prince Ferdinand. The result is well
 “known;—those troops, as brave as any in
 “the world, were compelled, at two differ-
 “ent epochs, to *lay down their arms to the*
 “*new raised levies of America*. He was
 “*against the continuance of the war*.”

I agree with Sir Gilbert Heathcote in
 every word that he uttered. But he was
 almost alone. He had but *one* member
 with him. Thus, then, we are to go on
 with this war. A battle is to be fought
 now between the whole of our navy and
 army and those of the Republic of Ame-
 rica. She will not shy the fight. She is
 ready for us. The world is now going to
 witness *the fall of the last Republic*, or the
decline of the naval power of England.
 There will be no medium after another
 year of war. We must completely subju-
 gate the Americans; or openly fall before
 them. We must *beat them*; or they must
beat us; and the beating must last during
 the existence of the parties.

Mr. Whitbread asked if there was now
 any *new ground* of the war. Any *new*
object. Nobody avowed that there was.
 But I fear the Americans will bear in
 mind, that the moment Napoleon was sub-
 dued, and our alarms in Europe were at
 an end, our public prints, the most patro-
 nised, openly proclaimed to the nation, that
 the object now ought to be to *subdue the*
American Republic, and to bring her back
 to the *parent State*. And, which is never
 to be forgotten, the whole of the London
 prints, in giving what they call a Report of
 the Debates in Parliament, published a re-
 port of a speech, which they gave as *Sir*
Joseph Yorke's, who was one of the *Lords*
of the Admiralty, and in which reported
 speech it was stated, that, though Napo-
 leon was *deposed*, we must not yet lay aside
 our Navy, seeing that we had another per-
 son to *depose*, namely Mr. Madison. Can
 he it from me to assert, that Sir Joseph
 Yorke really did utter this speech; but it
 is very certain, that it was published as his
 speech in all the London newspapers; that
 it was so received all over the kingdom,
 and that its sentiments met with universal
 approbation. The language of the princi-
 pal London prints has been, from that day
 to this, in perfect harmony with the tenor
 of this speech; and when the news of the
 burning of the buildings of the City of

Washington arrived, it was the common notion, that a *Vice-Roy* was about to be sent thither to represent, and govern in the name of your Royal Father. Nay, I verily believe, that, if the war ceases without our reconquering the Americans, as the chances are that it may, the people of England will be utterly astonished and confounded! So that JONATHAN must stand clear; for we are now safely launched against him. It is, in my opinion, idle to expect peace with America in a less space than six or seven years; for, I am morally certain, that JONATHAN will not give in. He, as Lord Melville very justly observed, is at *home*; he has all his men and tools upon the spot; he has been bred to the rifle from his cradle; he has a cheap Government, or, rather, he loves to govern himself; and, though he may not always feel bold, he will, first and last, give us a good long tough battle. JONATHAN, Sir, is not subject to fits and starts in his politics and notions of Government. We found no rabble at the City of Washington to cry "*vivent nos genereux allies*," as did the *cannaille* at Paris. Men must submit to a musket or a bayonet at their breasts; but we shall, I am of opinion, not find submission go much further before us in America.

Mr. WHITBREAD is deceived in supposing, that it is the mere burning of the buildings of Washington, which has *united*, as he calls it, all parties in America.—There never was any party *our* friend in opposition to their own Government. All parties cried out against our conduct. All parties cried out against what Mr. Madison complains of now. And, as to a *separation of the States* for *our* sake, no one but a down-right fool ever thought of such a thing. It was always a false notion. There never was any ground for it; and experience will shew us, that, in this respect, this nation has been listening to knaves, who were seeking their own interests in urging us on to the war.

I am well aware, that we shall do JONATHAN an infinite deal of *present mischief*. And he seems aware of it too. Mr. Madison takes great pains to give his constituents a strong sense of the violent hostility they have to encounter. They are *now*, even at this moment, getting ready their powder and ball, their rifles and their swords, their haversacks and accoutrements. There will not be a man unarmed, or unprepared for battle, before the opening of

the next campaign. A million of free men in arms will be ready to receive whoever shall march against them. The debates in our Parliament, the language of our newspapers, which JONATHAN knows so well how to estimate, will urge him on to measures of preparation. He is expeditious in these matters beyond all nations upon earth. The battle will be a battle fit to engage the attention of the world. I have often been rebuked for endeavouring to draw the public attention to American affairs. I have never been able to persuade any body, that America was of any consequence. She has now become of consequence; and, if the war go on, as I fear it will, she will soon be of most fearful importance in the view of every nation in Europe.

Perhaps you do not know, that the *present* injuries, which we are able to inflict on America, are the greatest of blessings in the eyes of some of her statesmen. They have always wished for something that would separate her as widely as possible from Great Britain. Whether wisely or not is another matter. They have always wished it; and, if they can see this accomplished by the destruction of twenty or thirty towns on the coast, they will think the acquisition wonderfully cheap.

"When to marry or to fight," as some are, "both parties are equally eager; they 'soon get together.'" Both parties are in earnest and eager in this case; and they will soon reach one another, though the distance between them is so great. The battle will be a famous one. A great *kingdom*, the mistress of the sea and dictress of Europe, on the one side; and the *last of Republics* on the other. Not only the question of maritime rights is now to be decided; but the question of the nature of Governments. The world is now going to see, whether a Republic, without a standing army, with half a dozen frigates, and with a Chief Magistrate with a salary of about *five thousand pounds a year*, be able to contend, single-handed, against a kingdom with a thousand ships of war, an army of two hundred men, and with a Royal Family, whose civil list amounts to more than a million pounds a year. Nothing was ever so interesting as this spectacle. May the end be favourable to the honour and happiness of this country and mankind in general!

I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

**SPEECH OF THE PRINCE REGENT ON THE
OPENING OF PARLIAMENT, ON TUES-
DAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1814.**

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is with deep regret that I am again obliged to announce the continuance of his Majesty's lamented indisposition.—It would have given me great satisfaction to have been enabled to communicate to you the termination of the war between this country and the United States of America.—Although this war originated in the most unprovoked aggression on the part of the Government of the United States, and was calculated to promote the designs of the common enemy of Europe against the rights and independence of all other nations, I never have ceased to entertain a sincere desire to bring it to a conclusion on just and honourable terms.—I am still engaged in negotiations for this purpose. The success of them must, however, depend on my disposition being met with corresponding sentiments on the part of the enemy.—The operations of his Majesty's forces by sea and land in the Chesapeake, in the course of the present year, have been attended with the most brilliant and successful results.—The flotilla of the enemy in the Patuxent has been destroyed. The signal defeat of their land forces enabled a detachment of his Majesty's army to take possession of the city of Washington, and the spirit of enterprize which has characterised all the movements in that quarter, has produced on the inhabitants a deep and sensible impression of the calamities of a war in which they have been so wantonly involved.—The expedition directed from Halifax to the Northern coast of the United States has terminated in a manner not less satisfactory.—The successful course of this operation has been followed by the immediate submission of the extensive and important district east of the Penobscot river to his Majesty's arms.—In adverting to these events I am confident you will be disposed to render full justice to the valour and discipline which have distinguished his Majesty's land and sea forces; and you will regret with me the severe loss the country has sustained by the fall of the gallant Commander of his Majesty's troops in the advance upon Baltimore.—I availed myself of the earliest opportunity afforded by the state of affairs in Europe, to detach a considerable military force to the river St. Lawrence, but its arrival could not possibly take place till an advanced period of the campaign. Notwithstanding the reverse which appears to have occurred on Lake Champlain, I entertain the most confident expectation, as well from the amount as from the description of the British

force now serving in Canada, that the ascendancy of his Majesty's arms throughout that part of North America, will be effectually established. The opening of the Congress at Vienna has been retarded from unavoidable causes to a later period than had been expected. It will be my earnest endeavour in the negotiations, which are now in progress, to promote such arrangements as may tend to consolidate that peace, which, in conjunction with his Majesty's Allies, I have had the happiness of concluding; and to re-establish that just equilibrium amongst the different Powers, which will afford the best prospect of permanent tranquillity to Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—I have directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. I am happy to be able to inform you, that the revenue and commerce of the United Kingdom are in the most flourishing condition. I regret the necessity of the large expenditure which we must be prepared to meet in the course of the ensuing year; but the circumstances under which the long and arduous contest in Europe has been carried on and concluded, have unavoidably led to large arrears, for which you will see the necessity of providing; and the war still subsisting with America, renders the continuance of great exertions indispensable.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—The peculiar character of the late war, as well as the extraordinary length of its duration, must have materially affected the internal situation of all the countries engaged in it, as well as the commercial relations which formerly subsisted between them.—Under these circumstances, I am confident you will see the expediency of proceeding with due caution in the adoption of such regulations as may be necessary for the purpose of extending our trade and securing our present advantages; and you may rely on my cordial co-operation and assistance in every measure which is calculated to contribute to the prosperity and welfare of his Majesty's dominions.

STATE OF THE NATION.—LETTER IV.

MR. COBBETT,—So, Sir, there is sad news from America! We are not merely repulsed with loss and slaughter, by a set of ragamuffins without red coats; but we also lose our brave, our gallant, our humane and generous officers. As to the common men being killed, that is nothing; they are only numbered, not named; whereas our officers are always the very best of their species; so that the Americans, in shooting them, are guilty of great presumption, besides downright murder, and a most grievous loss it is to Britain. The shooting a few more of our officers

by those plaguy smock-frocked riflemen, may also prove a material protraction to our recolonizing the Continent of America. I should, therefore, be of opinion, that our officers ought to disguise themselves as they did during the last war; for these impudent riflemen are so accustomed to shoot their wild turkeys *flying*, that it will be impossible a single officer escape, if they once recognise him. This consideration alone is sufficient to compel Ministry to leave America unconquered, and patch up a peace; unless, indeed, our interest in the now sitting Congress of the legitimate proprietors of the human race, be so great as to cause it to be enacted, that henceforward, in warfare, it shall be against the law of nations to fire at, wound or slay, any officer bearing his Britannic Majesty's commission.—But while we thus complain of the passing events abroad, let us endeavour to remedy some of the abuses at home. It is an undeniable fact, that we groan under an immense load of taxes, which scarcely leave to the many the means of procuring the necessaries of life. We exhibit to the astonished world the spectacle of a *free* nation, paying double the sum in TAXES of any country, under the most arbitrary and despotic Government, and our protecting Parliament loads free-born Britons with heavier burthens than all the Ukases of an Autocrat imposes on the servile Russian. Yet a very great proportion of these TAXES go towards the support of those who govern; and without entering at present into a disquisition as to the mode or profusion in which the members of, and adherents to, Government are paid, *we must insist* that a certain indispensable duty attaches to them in return for the large salaries they receive from the public, and that to the public they are amenable, who, at the same time, are competent to judge whether that indispensable duty be neglected or inadequately performed. With the public also a power to remove, or to punish, exists; and therefore all endeavours to recal such servants back to their duty, and all inflictions of punishment for a departure therefrom, are not only strictly justifiable and highly laudable, but, in fact, the bounden duty of each individual towards his country. Every such individual would himself depart from the line of justice, and become a traitor, were he, from self-interested motives, tamely to submit to flagrant abuses in the Government, and suffer them to be handed down

to posterity. This rule fairly laid down, it behoves us to make a strict inquiry into our present ruinous state, and to scrutinise the measures which have brought us into it. Next, let us examine whether the Constitutional axiom, that *the King can do no wrong*, extends to his Cabinet, or even to Parliament. Then, whether a nation is bound to sit down contented with its wrongs, because a White-washing Bill, brought in by Members of such Cabinet, may have been passed by a Parliament, many of whose Members, if not principals, have been accessaries to the abuses in favour of which the Indemnity Bill was required—a Parliament, who may already have passed Bills encroaching upon those liberties they had sworn to defend—a Parliament, where it is probable placemen and pensioners abounded, and where such may have had the traitorous insolence to advocate corruption. To begin then with our present situation:—After a twenty years murderous, and every way ruinous, war, we are at peace, *for the moment*, with the Continent of Europe, but we are still plunged in a savage and destructive hostility with America. During our twenty years Continental war, much blood has been shed, while, excepting a few individuals, who, by contracts and commissions, have amassed fortunes, general ruin has ensued, an immense national debt has accumulated, and all our gold has left the country. The concomitants of this are, a stagnation of trade, a rivalry of our manufactures, an impossibility of paying taxes, an enormous increase of paupers, and a RUINOUS PAPER CURRENCY. But peace, it was expected, would have restored our commerce and diminished our taxes. Instead of which more taxes will be wanted, in whatever shape they may be imposed, to bring up the arrears of the war expenditure; and, in order to engage the people to pay further demands without murmuring, the contest with America is kept up; while peace with France, instead of augmenting the peoples resources, has only furnished the superior classes, and indeed all those above daily labour, with an opportunity of emigrating, and retiring from this land of taxes, to various parts of the Continent, where they may live not only reasonably but peaceably, without the hourly dread of being murdered in their houses by disbanded soldiers and sailors. These marauders, however, having been taught the trade of murder and plunder, we

ought to bear no hatred against them, if, when we no longer want their *gallant* aid, they, as their only means of subsistence, set up for themselves, and practice individually such acts as they performed collectively, and upon which our highest praises have been bestowed. Peace, instead of augmenting the peoples resources, is now opening their eyes, is now bringing them to their senses; they find that all Europe has now rivaled us in our manufactures, or prohibits their introduction; and, while this takes place abroad, they experience at home, in the price of the necessities of life, that forestalling and monopoly have seized on every article; while the waste lands, instead of being given to the poor, have been universally appropriated to the rich, and the quantity of land thereby thrown into cultivation, instead of having the effect of lowering its price, has only encouraged the land-holders to rack-rent their tenants. Thus then the industrious part of the community, owing to the heavy taxes, the decay of trade, and the existing monopoly, have no alternative at home but starvation as a reward of their labour; a workhouse as a retreat, if disabled by sickness or age—and the gallows, if they dare practice, in detail, what their superiors are guilty of in wholesale. They enjoy not even the privilege of the spaniel, who has the liberty of yelping when ill treated: if man complains, he is instantly deemed seditious, and punished for his temerity.—In my next, I shall endeavour to point out a radical cure for these evils.

ARISTIDES.

INSTALLATION OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT.

MR. COBBETT, — In some of the late numbers of your REGISTER, you have shewn that the Americans have a different taste on subjects of Political Economy than we have, and you very benevolently argue that they ought not to be despised on that account, particularly by us, who have, *as we think*, so many superior advantages.—It has been a practice with me, when we have been involved in political contests, to peruse the works of historians and other writers, and to endeavour, by these means, to become acquainted with the resources and dispositions of those we have to contend with. Since we have heard so much of the *defeats* of the Americans, and their *anxious* inclination to bend the knee to us, I have read the “*Travels of the Duc de*

la Rochefoucault, Liancourt, through the United States,” which has induced me to take a lively interest in the fate of our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic. To be sure, it is odd in a work that enters so much into the whole internal economy of that extensive country, not to find mention made of gilt coaches, cream coloured horses, heralds, Garter King at Arms, Grooms of the Stole, Bands of Gentlemen Pensioners, Silver Stick, Gold Sticks, Masters of the Horse, Stag Hounds, &c. &c. &c. But I found the following account of the election of their President, which I shall transcribe in the author's own words: and which, I hope, will induce some of this *thinking* nation to pause before they come to a hasty decision; because, though this *titled* writer may have a vulgar *taste*, yet we should recollect the old adage—ever one to their liking.—This was a great source of consolation to the old woman who kissed her cow.—“John Adams followed the example of his predecessor:—he repaired to the House of Representatives preceded by the Sheriffs, Marshals and other officers, and placed himself in the chair occupied by the Speaker during the sittings of the House. Such members of the Senate who remained in the town, took their ordinary seats; the other seats were filled with spectators, among whom were many ladies. Thomas Jefferson, the new Vice-President, placed himself at the foot of the platform on the right, and the late Speaker of the House of Representatives on the left. In the front, and round a table, were four of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, among whom was Mr. Elsworth the Chief Justice. The galleries and tribune were crowded. The foreign ministers, although not formally invited, attended *without ceremony*, and, with many others, stood behind the platform. The President, the simplicity of whose dress was not distinguished by any thing but a black cockade and a sword, pronounced a discourse, in which he declared his political faith. After which, having descended from the platform, he repeated, in a loud voice, the usual oath after the Chief Justice, and kissed the book of the Evangelists, and then returned to the platform. In a short time after he retired, preceded by the officers who accompanied him on his entrance.—Nothing can be more simple than the ceremony of this installation; but this very simplicity has something in it so delightful, so noble, and

so nearly resembling the grandeur of antiquity, that it commands our reverence, and seizes upon our worthiest affections. I speak, at least, of the effect it produced upon my feelings. This change of the persons exercising the most awful functions of the State with so little pomp, but with so great solemnity; and which places a man who, the evening before, was among the crowd of simple citizens, at the head of the Government, while he who held the first office of the State the preceding evening, is returned again to the class of simple citizens, is full of the qualities that constitute true greatness. The presence of the late President, who mingled with the other spectators of this scene, added to its interest, and completed the greatness of its effects.—Thomas Jefferson, having returned to the chamber of the Senate, took the oath in presence of the members and the secretary, having first pronounced a short discourse full of talent and wisdom, and which received the approbation of all who did not attend with a resolution to be dissatisfied with Thomas Jefferson's conduct."—*Vol. 4, page 463.* VARRO.

COLONEL QUINTIN.—The result of the trial of this officer has excited a considerable degree of interest. I have given a copy of the charges preferred against him below, and also the sentence of the Court Martial, with the approval of that sentence by the Prince Regent. The *Pilot* of yesterday, from which I have extracted the sentence and subsequent proceedings, stated, that a motion was to be made last night, "in the House of Commons, or notice given by Col. Palmer, on the subject of the sentence of the Court Martial on Colonel Quintin."

The 10th Royal Hussars were on Thursday formed on their parade, in Romsford barracks, at eleven o'clock, in consequence of orders which they had previously received; when the Adjutant-General addressed the regiment in the following terms:—

"In obedience to the commands of the Commander in Chief, I have now to declare to the 10th Royal Hussars, the sentence of the General Court Martial, which has been held for the trial of Colonel Quintin, which has been conveyed to me in a letter from his Royal Highness, to which I request your most serious attention."

GENERAL ORDER.

HORSE-GUARDS, NOV. 10.—His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief has been pleased to direct that the following copy of

a letter, containing the opinion and sentence of a General Court-Martial recently held for the trial of Col. George Quintin, of the 10th, or Prince of Wales's own royal regiment of light dragoons, and the Prince Regent's pleasure thereon, shall be entered in the General Order Books, and read at the head of every regiment in his Majesty's service.

By command of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief.

HARRY CALVERT, Adjutant-Gen.

COPY.—HORSE-GUARDS, NOV. 8.

SIR—I have laid before the Prince Regent the proceedings of a General Court-Martial, held at Whitehall, on the 17th October, 1814, and continued by adjournments to the 1st November following, for the trial of Col. George Quintin, of the 10th Royal Hussars, who was arraigned upon the following charges, viz:—

1. That on the 10th day of January, 1814, the regiment being that day on duty, foraging in the valley of Macoy, in France, and the said Col. Quintin, having the command of the regiment, did not make proper and timely arrangements to ensure the success of the regiment in its operation of foraging, although directed to do so by the Brigade Orders; but neglected and abandoned his duty as Commanding Officer, leaving some of the divisions without support or orders when attacked by the enemy, whereby some men and horses of the regiment were taken prisoners, and the safety of such divisions hazarded; such conduct on the part of the said Col. Quintin evincing great professional incapacity, tending to lessen the confidence of the soldiers in the skill and courage of their Officers, being unbecoming and disgraceful to his character as an Officer, prejudicial to good order and military discipline, and contrary to the Articles of War.

2. That the said Colonel Quintin having the command of the regiment the day after the battle of Orthies, viz. on the 28th of February, 1814, on the high road leading to St. Sever, in front of the village of Hagelman (department des Landes), in France, and the regiment being on that day engaged with the enemy, he, the said Colonel Quintin, did not previously to, or during the time the regiment was so engaged, make such effectual attempts as he ought to have done, by his presence and his own personal exertions and example, to co-operate with or support the different divisions of the 10th Hussars, under his command, but neglected and abandoned his duty as Commanding Officer, and thereby unnecessarily hazarded the safety of those divisions, and implicated the character and reputation of the regiment; such conduct on the part of Colonel Quintin, tending to lessen the confidence of the soldiers in the skill and courage of their Officers, being unbecoming and

disgraceful to his character as an Officer, prejudicial to good order and military discipline, and contrary to the Articles of War.

3. That on the 10th day of April, 1814, during the battle of Toulouse, in France, the said Col. Quintin having the command of the regiment, and the regiment being that day in the presence of and attacked by the enemy, he, the said Colonel Quintin, did not, during such attack, make such effectual attempts as he ought to have done, by his presence and his own personal exertions, to co-operate with and support the advanced divisions of the regiment under his command; but neglected and abandoned his duty as Commanding Officer, leaving some of the divisions, when under fire from the enemy, without orders, and thereby unnecessarily hazarding the safety of those divisions, such conduct on the part of the said Colonel Quintin tending to lessen the confidence of the soldiers in the skill and courage of their officers, being unbecoming and disgraceful to his character as an Officer, prejudicial to good order and military discipline, and contrary to the Articles of War.

4. For general neglect of duty, by allowing a relaxed discipline to exist in the regiment under his command, when on foreign service; by which the reputation of the regiment suffered in the opinion of the Commander of the Forces, and of the Lieutenant-General commanding their cavalry, their displeasure having been expressed or implied in a letter from the Adjutant-General of the Forces, to Major-General Lord Ed. Somerset, commanding the Hussar Brigade, dated the 29th of March, 1814; and in the Orders of the Lieutenant-General commanding the cavalry, dated the 26th February, 1814; such conduct on the part of the said Colonel Quintin being most prejudicial to the benefit of his Majesty's service, subversive of all order and military discipline, in breach of the established regulations, and contrary to the Articles of War.

Upon which charges the Court came to the following decision:—

The Court having maturely weighed and considered the evidence on the part of the Prosecution, as well as what has been offered in defence, are of opinion that Col. Quintin is guilty of so much of the first charge as imputes to him having neglected his duty as Commanding Officer, on the 10th of January, by leaving some of the divisions without orders when attacked by the enemy, but acquit him of the remainder of the charge.

With respect to the second charge, the Court are of opinion that Colonel Quintin is not guilty.

With respect to the third charge, the Court are of opinion that Colonel Quintin is not guilty.

With respect to the fourth charge, the

Court are of opinion that a relaxed discipline, as set forth in that charge, did exist in the regiment under Col. Quintin's command, whilst on foreign service, during the period alluded to in the Letter and Orders referred to in the charge, and as they cannot but consider the Commanding Officer of a regiment to be responsible for such relaxation of discipline, they therefore think themselves bound to find Colonel Quintin guilty to the extent of *allowing it to exist*; but as they consider the letter from the Adjutant-General to the troops on the Continent, of March 30, 1814, expressing the displeasure of the Commander of the Forces, as a reprimand to Col. Quintin, adequate to the degree of blame which attached to him, the Court do not feel themselves called upon to give any sentence upon this charge in the way of further punishment, and they consider that any thing unusual in this determination will be explained by the singularity of the circumstances attending this charge, by which an Officer is put upon his trial for conduct, which had before been the subject of animadversion by those under whose command he was then serving, but which at the time was not considered deserving of a more serious proceeding by the Commander of the Forces; nor does it appear to have been made the subject of any remonstrance or request for a more serious investigation on the part of the Officers of the regiment.

The Court having found the Prisoner guilty of so much of the first charge, as is above expressed, and so much of the fourth charge as is above recited, with the reasons which induce the Court to feel that they are not called upon to affix any punishment to the last-mentioned charge, do only adjudge, with reference to the first charge, that Col. Quintin be reprimanded in such manner as His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief be pleased to direct.

The Court, however, cannot conclude these proceedings without expressing their regret that there appears to have existed such a want of co-operation among the Officers of the regiment, as to render the duties of the Commanding Officer much more arduous than they otherwise would have been.

I am to acquaint you, that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, to approve and confirm the finding and sentence of the Court.

His Royal Highness has further been pleased to consider, that, when the Officers of a corps prefer accusations affecting the honour and professional character of their Commander, nothing but the most conclusive proof of their charges before a Court Martial can justify a proceeding which must otherwise be so pregnant with mischief to the discipline of the army; and that a regard due to the subordination of the service must ever attach a severe responsibility to subordinate Officers, who become the accusers of their

superior! His Royal Highness, therefore, could not but regret, that the Officers of the 10th Hussars should have been so unmindful of what they owe to the first principles of their profession, as to assume an opinion of their Commander's personal conduct, which neither their general experience of the service, nor their knowledge of the alleged facts (as appears from their own evidence), could sanction or justify,—and which opinion would appear, from the proceedings, to have been utterly void of foundation, in every instance of implied attack or insinuation upon that Officer's courage and conduct before the enemy, as conveyed by the tenor of the second and third charges.

In allusion to the letter signed by the chief part of the Officers, and in which the present proceedings originated, the Prince Regent has specially observed, that, exclusive of the doubt which may be entertained of their capability to form a judgment, so much beyond the scope of their experience in the service, it was worthy of remark, that some who have affixed their names to that paper, had never been with the regiment during the period in question, and others had never joined any military body beyond the depot of their corps, and it might thus be deduced, that although the Officers have manifested, according to the appropriate remark of the Court Martial, a want of co-operation in support of their Commander's authority, yet those who have assumed a personal observance of Colonel Quintin's conduct, and those who, *though absent*, appear to have acted under a mischievous influence, by joining in an opinion to his prejudice, have all co-operated in a compact against their Commanding Officer, fraught with evils of the most injurious tendency to the discipline of the service; nor did it escape the notice of his Royal Highness, that this accusation has not been the momentary offspring of irritated feelings, but the deliberate issue of a long and extraordinary delay, for which no sufficient reasons, or explanation, have been assigned.

In this view of the case (which is not palliated by the very slight censure passed on Colonel Quintin upon the 1st charge) his Royal Highness has considered that a mark of his displeasure towards those Officers is essential to the vital interests of the army; and that the nature of the combination against Colonel Quintin, would call for the removal from the service of those who have joined in it; but as his Royal Highness would willingly be guided by a lenient disposition toward a corps of Officers who have hitherto merited his approbation, and would willingly believe that *inadvertency* in some and *inexperience* in others, had left them unaware of the mischievous tendency of their conduct upon this occasion, his Royal Highness is averse to adopt such severe measures as the custom of the service

in support of its discipline usually sanctions, upon the failure of charges against a Commanding Officer. Still it is essential that conduct so injurious in its nature should be held forth to the army as a warning in support of subordination; and his Royal Highness has therefore commanded that the Officers who signed the letter of the 9th August, shall no longer act together as a corps, but that they shall be distributed by exchange throughout the different regiments of cavalry in the service, where it is trusted that they will learn and confine themselves to their subordinate duties, until their services and experience shall sanction their being placed in rank and situations, where they may be allowed to judge of the general and higher duties of the profession.

The Prince Regent has been further pleased to observe, that though Colonel Palmer did not sign the letter of the 9th August, he is, nevertheless, by his declared sentiments on the prosecution, and his general concurrence in the opinion of the Officers, to be considered in the same light as if he had put his name to that paper, and his Royal Highness has therefore commanded that he shall also be removed to another corps.—I am, &c.

(Signed) FREDERICK, Commander in Chief.
To the Adjutant-General, &c.

The Adjutant-General then read the names of the following Officers * :—

Colonel Charles Palmer; Lieut.-Colonel G. J. Roberts, Captains J. R. Lloyd, B. N. Harding, S. H. Stuart, Geo. Fitzclarence, J. Smith, E. P. Turner, R. Green, C. Syngé, Lord A. W. Bill, Edw. Fox Fitzgerald; Lieutenants H. Marquis of Worcester, Chas. Eversfield, H. Somerset, G. Wombwell, C. Wyndham, H. Seymour, Henry Fitzclarence, A. F. Berkley, J. H. Powell, J. Jackson, J. A. Richardson, J. C. Green; Cornet R. B. Palliser,

And desired them to move forward in front of their respective troops, and to return their swords. He then addressed them as follows :—

"GENTLEMEN—I have the Commander in Chief's commands to signify to you his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's pleasure, that you no longer belong to the 10th Regiment of Hussars; and the Commander in Chief enjoins you to hold yourselves in readiness to join the different regiments of cavalry to which the Prince Regent will immediately appoint you."

The Adjutant-General then directed the Hon. Major Howard, to take on himself the command of the 10th Royal Hussars, until it shall be resumed by Colonel Quintin.

* Bring those who signed the letter to Colonel Palmer of the 9th August, from which the proceedings against Colonel Quintin originated.